

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ANKARA 04809 290929Z  
ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2447  
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
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USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS  
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S E C R E T ANKARA 4809

EXDIS - MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECIAL EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: NATO, PEPR, GR, TU  
SUBJECT: GREEK REINTEGRATION INTO NATO - U.S. APPROACHES

REF: A) 16194, B) ANKARA 4744, C) ATHENS 5456

1. IN LIGHT OF INFORMATION AND ASSESSMENT CONTAINED REFTEL C, I NOW HAVE SERIOUS DOUBTS ABOUT WISDOM OF RAISING WITH ECEVIT AT THIS POINT TURKISH ACCEPTANCE OF NEW GREEK COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT ON MILITARY LEVEL. I FEAR THAT IT WOULD PROVOKE A REACTION WHICH MIGHT JEOPARDIZE SOME OF THE OTHER THINGS WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO ACCOMPLISH WITH THE TURKS AT THE MOMENT AS REGARDS VAROSHA.
2. ASKING THE TURKS TO ACCEPT THESE NEW AEGEAN COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS NOW WOULD BE THE POLITICAL EQUIVALENT OF ASKING KARAMANLIS TO DECLARE HIMSELF PUBLICLY IN FAVOR OF LIFTING THE EMBARGO. HOWEVER RATIONAL A THING THIS WOULD BE TO ASK, IN PRESENT SITUATION IT IS JUST AS  
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UNLIKELY TO SUCCEED.

3. REFTEL C MAKES IT CLEAR THAT KARAMANLIS HAS NOT, IN FACT, DELINKED NATO REINTEGRATION FROM THE CYPRUS PROBLEM SO IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO ARGUE THAT ACCEPTANCE OF NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS WOULD REMOVE FINAL OBSTACLE TO GREEK REINTEGRATION. I HAVE THE

IMPRESSION THERE ARE MANY OTHER ISSUES AS WELL THAT STILL NEED TO BE RESOLVED IN OEG IN BRUSSELS.

4. I AM ALSO CONCERNED AT ESTIMATE THAT KARAMANLIS WOULD NOT FIND IT POSSIBLE TO MAKE ANY KIND OF A PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT NATO COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS WOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS PRECEDENT TO BE USED AGAINST TURKISH POSITION IN GREEK/TURKISH DISAGREEMENTS IN THE AEGEAN. THIS, OF COURSE, WOULD BE A MAJOR CONCERN OF TURKS, AND HIS UNREADINESS TO DO SOMETHING ALONG THESE LINES WOULD INCREASE TURKISH SUSPICIONS OF AND UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCOMMODATE NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS.

5. I BELIEVE ALL OF THIS GETS US BACK TO THE FACT THAT WE FACE A GORDION KNOT THAT DEFIES UNTIEING. REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO, IN MY JUDGMENT - ALTHOUGH IT WILL CREATE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES FOR KARAMANLIS - IS THE ONLY WAY OF SLICING THROUGH THESE COMPLEXITIES. IF EMBARGO IS REMOVED, I BELIEVE TURKS CAN BE BROUGHT ABOUT TO A POSITIVE VIEW OF NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS WHICH GIVE GREEKS AIR AND SEA AUTHORITY IN AEGEAN, BUT EVEN IN THIS CASE ONLY IF GREEKS ARE PREPARED TO DO SOMETHING IN THE WAY OF MOVING TOWARDS TURKS IN DEALING WITH FIR PROBLEM AND TO MAKE IT CLEAR THEY WILL NOT EXPLOIT TURKISH AGREEMENT TO NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS DURING BILATERAL AEGEAN DISCUSSIONS. THE MOST I BELIEVE  
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WE COULD DO WOULD BE TO LAY A BASIS FOR A POSITIVE TURKISH RESPONSE QUICKLY UPON REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO. OUR INFLUENCE WITH THE TURKS WILL BE AT A MAXIMUM AT THAT POINT, AND WE SHOULD CERTAINLY USE IT BOTH FOR CYPRUS PROGRESS AND GREEK REINTEGRATION. I RECOGNIZE THAT A TURKISH CONCESSION NOW ON THIS ISSUE WOULD BE A FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT FROM CONGRESSIONAL STANDPOINT, BUT IF THIS WILL NOT CHANGE GREEK POSITION THAT SOLVING CYPRUS PROGRESS IS A PRECONDITION TO REINTEGRATION, I WONDER IF IT IS THE RIGHT EXPENDITURE OF OUR LIMITED INFLUENCE TO PRESS ON THIS POINT NOW. UNFORTUNATELY, I BELIEVE GENERAL HAIG'S STATEMENT BEFORE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE YESTERDAY THAT "I WOULD EXPECT TURKEY WOULD NEVER AGREE TO GREECE'S REENTRY INTO NATO SO LONG AS THIS EMBARGO REMAINS IN PLACE" IS TOTALLY CORRECT.

6. I SAW THE PRIME MINISTER BRIEFLY LAST NIGHT, AND HE SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO ME WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. I EXPECT THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE AN APPOINTMENT ON MONDAY, JULY 3, AND I KNOW THE TURKS ARE PREPARING A RESPONSE

TO OUR DEMARCHE ON VAROSHA (STATE 161686) WHICH I  
THINK WILL BE LESS NEGATIVE THAN TULUMEN'S REMARKS  
IMPLIED (ANKARA 4763). I BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE  
BEST TO LET THE GREEK REINTEGRATION ISSUE LIE FOR  
THE MOMENT, BUT I WILL AWAIT DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS.  
ALSO IT IS POSSIBLE (ALTHOUGH NOT PROBABLE) THAT  
DISCUSSION OF JULY 4 - 5 MEETING OF GREEK-TURKISH  
MFA SECRETARIES GENERAL WOULD BE SUFFICIENTLY POSITIVE  
TO CHANGE THE PROSPECTS OF FAVORABLE MOVEMENT FROM THE  
TURKS ON THIS QUESTION.  
SPIERS

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